2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

among the Yakut fishermen of the Upper Kolyma River, as well as among the local Russian settlers. The Altaian Turks also use such a dwelling. 342 [177]

Clothing

Headgear takes many forms. One type, worn by men as well as women, has a somewhat pointed top and is trimmed with a large strip of squirrel, fox or marmot skin. Two pointed tabs at the sides protect the ears, as may be seen, for instance, in Fig. 27 which shows a Yakut riding on an ox. Caps of such shape may be seen on the so-called "stone women" in Mongolia, according to Marco Polo. 291 [171]

Fig. 27. A Yakut riding an Ox harnessed to a Sledge loaded with Plaited Grass Mats.

A fairly common form for a man's fur cap is shown in Figs. 28 and 29. It has two leather strips which are tied under the chin.

Not far from Yakutsk and other Russian settlements, Yakut men wear round caps of the Russian style with crowns of foxes' legs and trimmed with land otter fur. [177]

In Fig. 30 is illustrated a woman's cap made of fox legskin, trimmed in front with a strip of land otterskin. There are two pairs of leather tie strings; the first is tied under the chin, the second around the neck. The back is ornamented with strips of leather and calico. It is lined with fur from the belly of a fox.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

292 531 A rich woman's cap is shown in Fig. 31. The top is of woolen cloth; the front is decorated with an ornamental silver disc called *tusaxta*, which is described below (Fig. 63). The lower part of the cap is of black

Fig. 28. The Summer Costume of an Impoverished Yakut.

Fig. 29 (70-9229). Fur Cap worn by Men.

Fig. 30 (70-8509). Fur Hood worn by Women.

foxskin and at the back covers the neck and hangs down the back. In form it resembles the old caps of rich Kirghiz women.

531 ● 291 Fig. 32*ab* shows the front and back of an ornamented top for a woman's cap, decorated with tiny many colored beads. On the front (Fig. 32*a*) is a round silver plate *tusaxta* and on the back (Fig. 32*b*) a red cloth figure, the whole resembling the hat of a Catholic prelate. Beneath this, silver ornaments are fastened to the cloth between two bands of embroidery in silk. Fig. 33 shows two Yakut women from Yakutsk wearing felt hats called *kergemsex* which are imported from European Russia. In

177 291

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

the summer men wear Russian cloth caps with a shade (Fig. 34) or tie a folded handkerchief or a leather string around the forehead. Women cover the head with a large colored calico handkerchief. 291 177

Of Yakut outer clothing the *son* should be mentioned first. It is a single-breasted coat reaching to the knees, of curried reindeer skin, plush, cloth, or other material, lined with hare, fox, marmot fur, or wadding. *Son* or *suon* 291

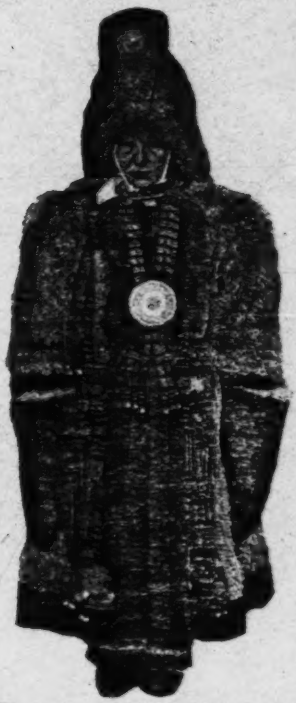

Fig. 31. A Rich Yakut Woman dressed in a Lynx Fur Coat, Black Fox Mittens, and a Fur Cap ornamented with Silver.

Fig. 32 *ab* (70–8594). Ornamented Crown for Woman's Cap. *a*. Front view; *b*, Back view.

means full, stout, or corpulent. Poor people wear no other garment but *sons* made of mare, cow, or calfskins with the hair on, turned inward toward the body. The summer *son* is made of some light weight material, cloth or plush, with a thin lining. It is always single-breasted with a

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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Fig. 33. Two Yakut Women (mother and daughter) from Yakutsk, wearing Felt Hats of Russian Importation.

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

tight back and loose skirt; the sleeves are tight at the wrist and enlarge gradually to the shoulders, where they are gathered into folds. To give fullness to the skirt gores are set in at the sides, producing many folds in this ugly garment. The collar of the *son* is always worn flat. The *son* of a poor Yakut is shown in Fig. 28. On a journey the Yakut wears an overcoat (*supun* from the Russian *zypun*) made of white, yellow, or gray cloth over the *son*. Its skirts are even fuller than those of the *son*. In addition, the skirt is slit at the back to facilitate riding. The

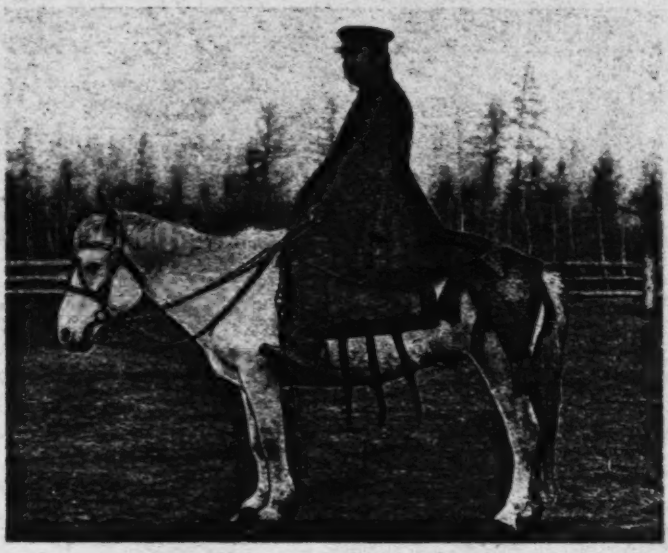


Fig. 34. A Yakut Elder on Horseback, wearing a Russian Cloth Cap with a Peak.

collar and the side borders are usually trimmed with plush or red cloth. In a woman's *supun* the lower border of the skirt is also ornamented.

For traveling the Yakut also use another kind of shirt-like overcoat made of reindeer skins without a slit in front. The Yakut buy this type of garment ready-made from the Chukchee, Tungus, or Yukaghir. Such coats have different names adapted from the Russians, like *parky*, *kuklyanky*, *kukashky* (Russian *parki*, *kuxlanki*, *kukashki*).

Sanayax or *sañyyax* (fur outside) is a long fur overcoat which reaches the ground. It is made of different kinds of fur. In Fig. 31 a lynx coat is shown. The borders of the skirt and sleeves are trimmed with land otter fur. The collar is also of land otter. The lynx has been

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

Fig. 38*ab* represents a *sanayax* of foalskins. The *kybytya* on the back is made of a black foalskin. The white stripes on the skirt are of white horse legskins and the black stripes of black cowskin. 292

The Yakut *pestreidax sanayax* (evidently from the Russian word *pestryi*, many colored) (70–8523) is of skins of yearling reindeer fawns. The skirt is trimmed with wolf fur, above which is a decoration made of black and white foalskins. The *kybytya* is made of lynx and wolverene furs.

Another *sanayax* (70–8525) in the collection is of lynx fur; the skirt is trimmed with squirrel tails and the *kybytya* is of land otter. One *sanayax* is of the fur of *tarbagans*.

Fig. 39 (70–8724). A Woman's Trousers of curried Elkskin ornamented with Beads and Brass Bells.

Formerly the *sanayax*[1] was worn on the naked body, but now under this fur coat the wealthier Yakut wear Russian shirts of calico or some other cotton material which they call *yrbaxy* (Russian *rubaxa*),—short, to the haunches or knees for men, and long, to the condyles or heels, for women. The woman's long shirt is also called *xaladai*. The Yakut do not wash these shirts. They remove them before going to bed, sleeping under their fur blankets, naked, except for their short trousers of soft, curried reindeer skin called *sarysyalya*. These are worn by men and women alike, and are shaped so that they are higher behind, leaving the abdomen uncovered in front, which deficiency is made up by the wearing of warm stomachers. 513 296 291

1 [Cf. pp. 147–149, Category IIc -- ANALYST]

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

abdomen uncovered in front, which deficiency is made up by the wearing of warm stomachers.

A pair of woman's trousers of curried elkskin ornamented with beads and brass bells is illustrated in Fig. 39. To these are attached two rings to which leggings, stockings, or high boots may be tied. The long leather strings are intended to tie around the stomach protector.

In some cases the short pantalets have developed into long, tight trousers, the lower ends of which are tied around the legs and over the ankles with strings. Many Yakut, particularly near Russian settlements, wear wide trousers of the Russian style. Trousers are made chiefly from reindeer or calf leather and, for the winter, are fur-lined. Near Russian settlements trousers of cotton or plush are used during the summer.

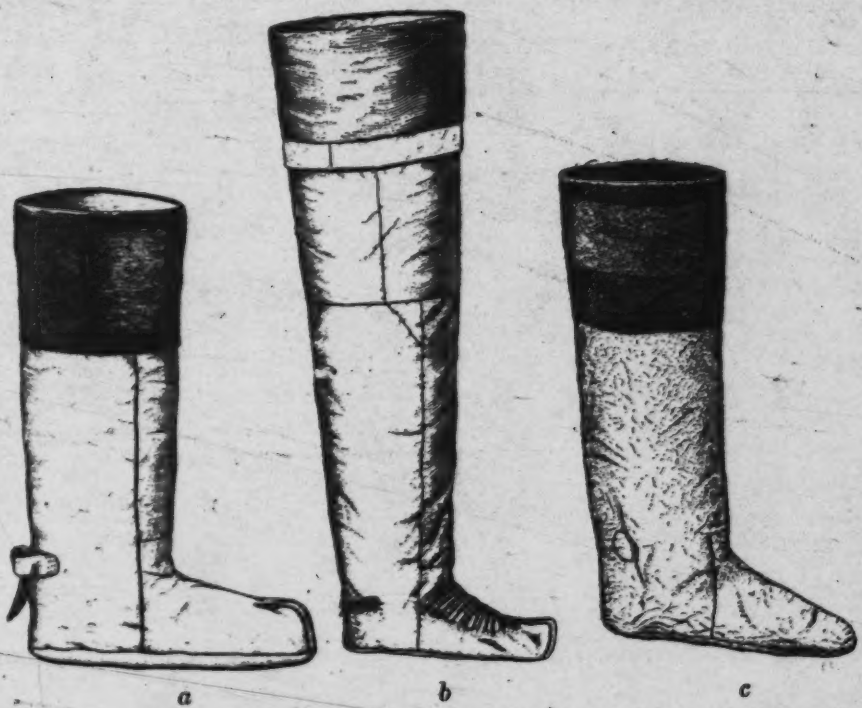
We turn our attention here to two peculiarities in the style of Yakut clothing: First, the fancy for flat collars which may be seen in all the illustrations of men's as well as women's clothing. The collar is always of different material and color from that of the coat or shirt. Cloth coats have plush collars. Fur coats usually have collars of more valuable peltry than the rest of the garment. The collars of mare or cowskin coats are of the same material, but in black. Even the calico shirt has a collar. Second, Yakut coats always open in the middle of the front and may thus be distinguished from Buryat or Mongol coats which open near the right shoulder.

Tailoring is the exclusive work of women. They use no special patterns in cutting out their materials, but follow the form of some old garment, or trust entirely to memory. They know all the Russian stitches, but prefer the simple running stitch, which they use not only in sewing skins, but also cloth and calico. They also employ the back stitch, cross stitch, and button hole stitch. Their stitching is uneven and coarse. They do but little embroidery. The old embroidery patterns were made with silk, sinew thread and horsehair (from the mane or tail).

A general name for any kind of footwear is *eterbes*, from Turkic *etik*. Footwear varies with the season and its use for riding or walking on snow, in water, or on rocky and swampy ground. The most characteristic Yakut footwear, called *sāry-eterbes*, or horseskin boots, may be seen in Fig. 40*b*. These are made of dressed and dyed black hide from the hind quarters of a horse. The flat sole is turned up to form the instep and sewn to the top, forming a wedge. The seams are made with great care and the boots are waterproof. A buckle back of the ankles serves

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

to keep the boot tight. As the top is made in one piece with the front part of the boot-leg it becomes folded, the folds being softly dressed. These high-topped boots reach the thighs. The tops of the bootlegs are decorated with colored cloth or plush. The sole is made of a thick piece of horsehide, while the top is made of the same hide split in two. The northern Yakut use sealskin for soles when it is obtainable. The



a *b* *c*

Fig. 40 *a–c* (70–8498*b*, 8563*a*, 8721*a*). Yakut Footwear. *a*, Boots of soft dressed elkskin used in winter for horseback riding; *b*, High boots made of dressed and dyed black horsehide; *c*, Stockings of calfskin with the hair on worn by women.

sāry-eterbes is very comfortable and light but loses its shape and waterproof character when used for wading for a long time or to walk in deep snow, since it seems to be adapted especially for riding or climbing. It may be distinguished by its turned up toes.

A boot of soft dressed elkskin made wide enough to wear over fur stockings (*koñulet eterbes*), is used in winter when horseback riding (Fig. 40*a*). A stocking of calfskin (Fig. 40*c*) with the hair side in, is worn

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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by women and called *jaxtar kencete* (woman's stocking). Over these stockings are worn hare socks. The legs of the stockings are decorated at the top with red and green cloth. In the summer cloth stockings are worn.

A Yakut girl wearing horseskin boots (*sāry-eterbes*) with silver decorations at the top may be seen in Fig. 41. Leather bands are wound around the ankles.

Before starting on a trip the Yakut lines his boots with dry grass. On his bare legs he wears hare or calfskin stockings with the hair inside: over these he wears low slippers of the same skins with the hair outside; and lastly he pulls on the *sāry-eterbes*. The trouser legs are tucked inside the boots, over which are pulled up the *sotury*, traveling fur knee-protectors, with the fur outside. These are tied lightly around the legs below the knees and their tops are attached to the rings on the trousers, where they reach the groins and cover the hips. Neither wind, snow, nor rain, will penetrate to the undergarments of which the Yakut are particularly careful. Returning from a journey, the Yakut first of all remove the *sotury*. The best *sotury* are made of wolves' legskin; those made of fox, reindeer or mare legskins are inferior.

Fig. 41. A Yakut Girl wearing Boots with Silver Ornaments.

To complete the description of Yakut clothing we add a note on their mittens and boas. Yakut mittens (*ūtūlūk*) always have a division for the thumb. Gloves are called *tarbaxtax ūtūlūk*, mittens with fingers (from *tarbax*, a finger), or *nuca ūtūlūk*, Russian mittens. Yakut mittens are not slit at the wrist; this they regard as a Tungus fashion. Instead of the slit there are often strips of leather from which the mittens hang when working with the bare hands. The Yakut mittens are wider and clumsier than those of the Tungus. Attaching the mittens to the coat sleeves and the use of a wrist protector are also regarded as Tungus styles. When a Yakut hunter goes into the woods in winter to set traps and self-acting bows, to keep the hand warm and soft he wears large double fur mittens, reaching to the elbows.

A woman's mitten may be seen in Fig. 42 (*jaxtar ūtūlūge*). It is made of skins of white fox legs, trimmed at the opening with wolf fur;

2: Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

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the dark fur under the trimming and at the edge is land otter. This mitten has no slit nor leather strips.

Fig. 43 represents a boa (*moitoruk* or *moituruk*) made of squirrel tails (*xobo moitoruk*). Pieces of squirrel tails are sewn into rings which are strung on a leather line. There are large boas which may be wound two or three times around the neck. The boa, a very important part of the winter costume, is used by the Yakut to cover his chin, mouth, cheeks, and nose; he breathes through the fur and thus diminishes the effect of the frost. When the boa becomes wet he turns it around and the wind soon dries the moistened part leaving a rime on the fur which can be

Fig. 42

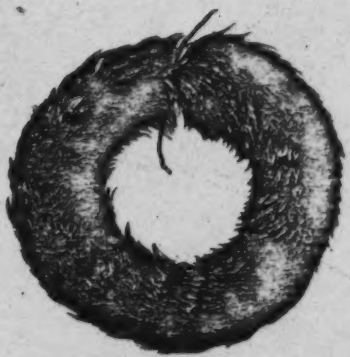

Fig. 43

Fig. 42 (70–8561*b*). Woman's Mitten made of Skins of White Fox Legs.
Fig. 43 (70–5110). A Boa made of Squirrel Tails.

shaken off. There are also boas made of hare tails (*kuobax moitoruk*, 70–8892 and 70–9078).

The Yakut like to belt their overcoats with leather girdles decorated with metallic attachments. Usually on the left side of the belt is tied a case containing a knife (*kynaxbysax*), which can thus be easily drawn out with the right hand (see the description of the Yakut blacksmith); on the right side is hung a strike-a-light. The tobacco pipe (*xamsa*) and pouch (*sappya*) are usually thrust in the right boot leg. Sometimes the knife is tied to the right side of the trousers, to which brass rings are sewn for that purpose.

[cf. pp. 165-167, CATEGORY 116 -- ANALYST]

2; Jochelson E-5 (1884-1902) 1933 Yakut

291 177 In addition to the clothing enumerated above, the Yakut sometimes wear a *shiletzik* (Russian *shilet*, waistcoat), *allyc* (Russian *galstux*, cravat), *kufaiky* (Russian *fufaika*, sweater), *plat* (Russian *platok*, handkerchief), etc., which they have adopted from the Russians together with their names.

At home, the Yakut, particularly in the summer or during the winter before the hearth, prefer wearing only short breeches. Women wear their skirts.

276 177 Pipes are of various shapes. The bowl may be of iron, brass, pewter, or bone and the stem often consists of two halves held together by a leather binding. By loosening the leather strip the stem may be cleaned. A tobacco pipe made of mammoth ivory, the bowl and stem being of the same material, is shown in Fig. 44. To diminish the strength of the leaf

Fig. 44

Fig. 45

Fig. 44 (70-9210). Pipe made of Mammoth Ivory.
Fig. 45 (70-8940). Wooden Snuff Box.

tobacco and also for economy, the Yakut mix it with shredded poplar bark (*tirăx tatyrga*). They also adopted the custom of snuffing tobacco from the Russians. A wooden box for snuff may be seen in Fig. 45.

513 Bedding consists of a fur robe (mare, reindeer or bearskin) called *tăllăx* and a blanket, *suorhan*. The blanket is sewed of hares' backs, legs, or heads or of white fox legs and tails. Poor people cover themselves with their fur coats and sleep on grass mats. Pillows are made of calico filled with bird down or feathers. Usually two people sleep under one blanket with their heads in opposite directions. (For the position of [511] sleeping places in the Yakut dwelling see p. 135.) A Yakut traveler usually carries his own bedding with him, for even rich people seldom own a sufficient quantity to accommodate transient guests.

152 My observations on the ability of the Yakut to endure severe cold may be of interest on this point. When spending the night in the open

1 [cf. category 342 -- ANALYST]

6: Sauer--130 G-5 (1785-94) 1802 Yakut
116, 291, 171, 515

"Their dress is much more complete than that of the Tungoose; and the more wealthy among them wear a cloth coat lined and trimmed with fur, with tight and well made pantaloons; but their boots are ill shapen. The women dress very like the Tungoose, but are in general not so clean or sprightly."

9: Stadling--92-93 E-3 (1898) 1901 Yakut
116, 291

"The summer dress of the Yakuts consists of the robaschka (the Russian 'over-shirt'), and the balachon, a kind of blouse, both of cloth, long boots of soft leather, and [93] wide breeches of the same material. The dress of the women differs from that of the men only by its greater length and its ornaments. In the winter they dress in fur, more or less costly according to their circumstances. The warm skin of the polar hare is very much in use as lining. The fur-coat, which is made like a shirt and put on over the head, has usually a hood of the same material attached to it."

10: Bush--161 T-3 (1865-67) 1871 Yakut
116, 291, 177

"Their dress is peculiar to themselves, being a mixture of that worn by the humbler Russians and the skin garments of the wilder tribes. This comprises a large gray cloth overcoat made after the Russian pattern, well-tanned buckskin, beautifully tanned without the fur, of neat design, and tastefully ornamented. The latter are made to fit the foot snugly, and at the toe arch over the foot like the bow of a skate. The legs are large and comfortable, except at the ankle, and reach to the knee, the tops folding down on the outside for several inches, and bordered with a wide band of black or colored cloth. A welt of this cloth is also sewed in all the seams. At the ankle two very long and broad strips of buckskin are fastened, to be woumd snugly around the leg, half way up to the knee, as a support. These give a very trim appearance to the boot. The Yakouts have small feet, and take especial pride in being well booted."

11: Lansdell--302 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 171, 291, 492

"The dress of the Yakutes resembles in its main features that of the other natives of Siberia, save, perhaps, that they are fonder of ornaments. Both sexes riding a good deal on oxen and horses, a perpendicular slit is made up the back from the bottom of the sanayakh, or upper garment, in order to render the wearer comfortable in the saddle, and some of the women add behind them a cushion or pad, to save them from the rough motion of the animals. During the milder part of the year a robe, made of very pliable leather, stained yellow, is worn, which indoors is frequently laid aside, and males and females sit by the fire, leaving the upper part of the body naked."

11: Lansdell--302-303 M-3 (1879) 1882 Yakut
116, 281, 291

"I bought a pair of women's Yakute boots of this leather. [303] They fit tight to the leg, and have at the top a flap of black velvet with red cloth trimming, which can be turned down and exposed for show in fair weather, or turned up, bringing the boots to the thighs. On each boot are two broad leather thongs, five or six feet long, to wind round the leg. Waterproof boots are here made, called by the Russians torbasis. These are cut from horse-hide, steeped in sour milk, then smoked, and finally rubbed well, with fat and fine soot. They last exceedingly well and are an inestimable comfort to the wearer, enabling him to tramp through snow, water, and mud without inconvenience."

12: Galitzin --145 -146 N-2 (no date) 1853 Yakut
116, 104, 291, 281

"The tail forms an indispensable part of the costume of the Yacoutes; both men and women wear it so long, that in order to support it they tie it behind round the waist. The summer costume of the men consists of a kaftan (a Turkish vest) descending to the knees, made with China tissue or with cloth, lined all round with some stuff of a showy colour. For their feet they have boots with a soft sole. The Sarama is a kind [146] of buskin made with horse-hide, which is waterproof. Trowsers of reindeer-skin, a cap, and gloves which only have the thumb, complete their garment. This costume is common to both sexes. In winter, for the simple kaftan, they substitute a furred dress. They wear also torbases, or furred boots, having the hair outside. During this severe weather the traveller puts on a large riding-coat, called sanaiak, made with reindeer-skin having equally the hair outside: he applies upon his forehead, cheeks, and ears, pieces of furmade on purpose, and surrounds his knees with soutouvi, or bands. The furred robe which the women wear in winter is called parka: it is made with reindeer-skin, and has the form of a long shirt. The sleeves and the collar are trimmed with furs of the finest quality. The dress of the wealthy Yacoutes is often very expensive."

13: Sarytschew--10 N-3 (1785-90) 1806 Yakut
116, 291

"The rich Jakuts wear the skins of reindeer, and the poor those of horses. Their dress is the same in summer and winter, except, that in the latter case they use the fur with the skin, and in the former the skin alone. Instead of a shirt they cover the breast with a cloth, and over that wear a fur waistcoat and a long coat of the same. Their breeches do not reach the knee, which has a distinct covering, fastened with thongs, and continued from the calf by a leathern buskin, over which they wear a sort of boots, called, in their language, eterbesen. Those in better circumstances decorate their hips with cloths of red or blue, trimmed quite round, and fastened to the girdle."

13: Sarytschew--10 [3] N-3 1785-90 (1806) Yakut
116, 291, 301

"The ordinary dress of the Jakutish female differs but little from that of the female [sic], but their best garments are longer and larger than usual, being bordered with many pieces of coloured cloth and Chinese stuffs, worked with bits of silver and copper of different figures, and edged with a broad trimming of beaver and otter's skin. For this dress they have a particular cap, embellished with three tufts of feathers. They adorn their ears with large silver rings, and form their hair into a long queue."

16: Great Britain Admiralty -- 167 G-3 (no date) 1920 Yakut

116, 177, 291

"The Yakuts are capable of standing extreme cold, and are found going about in very light attire in winter, while their children sport naked in the snow. Their costume differs less in the various seasons than that of other Siberian peoples. Those who live in the Okhotsk region have partly adopted Russian costume, and partly retained the native dress —the kukhlyanka and tarbass. They also wear the sarafan (a long overcoat without sleeves), but not the ornamented cloak (made of fur of special cut) and the beaver cape, of which their compatriots in the Yakutsk region are so proud. Their breeches come only down the thigh, and they have long boots (farri) which come above the knee. Their summer-dress is the robashka (overshirt) and balachon (blouse); in winter they wear costumes of skins. The women are adept in making up fur-garments. Their dress only differs from that of the men by its greater length and ornamentation."

17: Erman--258-260 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-1-3
116, 291, 511, 557, 177.55 Russia
636.55

"Sunduki and Nyuis are likewise Yakutian villages, with a small share of Russian population. The dwellings here are extremely neat, and both the food and clothing of the people bear witness to their comfortable circumstances. The women, generally, wear in the house, a gown of some coloured web; the men wear short over-coats of reindeer skin, with the hair turned in, and the outside leather-coloured. A young Yakutian woman replied to me, with great naïvetè, as I was commending her housekeeping, 'That all the Russians now seemed to think as I did, for they were no longer above marrying a Yakut.' In [259] fact, the envy which the opulence of the Asiatics has usually awakened in the minds of the European invaders, takes here the deceitful appearance of esteem. The Russians flatter the strong, because these will not allow themselves to be imposed upon.

The lowest temperature to-day was —2 R. The morning was cloudy, and snow fell a little before noon. After that the sky became quite clear, and continued so for half an hour, till we found ourselves beyond Bukhturminsk, between high cliffs. Then there came on suddenly a gust, with a whirlwind from the west; in a few seconds the upper part of the heavens was covered with thick and heavy clouds. Before us dark streaks hung down from the edges of the lowering masses, without touching the horizon, and while I was thinking how like this looked to a summer hail-storm, we heard, all at once,

the rattling of the falling stones, and were overwhelmed with compact and heavy pieces of ice. They had the form of tetrahedrons, three lines long on each side, and, when crushed, broke into regular triangular laminae. They wanted only the rounding off of one of the surfaces which is usually seen in summer hail. Taken in conjunction with what I thus experienced myself, some meteorological statements of the peasants in Dubrova seemed important. They told me that in their country there were hail storms in winter too, and, in answer to a question of mine, they asserted, that they had also known instances of thunder and lightning in winter; such a storm had occurred, for instance, the preceding year, about Christmas, with mist, after very severe frost. On the north-west coast of America, indeed, where the humid and warm sea air falls on the cold land, I have known hail and electric storms in winter, but such a phenomenon in the middle of the continent was quite unexpected. Storms of this kind are unknown in Irkutsk and in Yakutsk, and must therefore be regarded as local effects of the air issuing from the narrower parts of the valley. In fact, the suddenness of congelation and precipitation which gives rise to hail and electric clouds, suggest themselves to the mind when we think of the humid air from between the cliffs, with the much colder air of the adjacent plains; and, accordingly, winter hail and winter thunder-storms appear to characterize the region of goitre on the Lena, as distinctly as the absence of summer hail characterizes

the valleys of the Alps where cretinism is most prevalent.

We arrived in the morning at the Russian houses of Yerbinsk, thirty-five versts from Nyuis, which lie on the left [260] bank, in a fertile opening of the valley encircled by hills, on which pine woods are intermingled with bare rocks. On the way here from Irkutsk, I had hitherto always observed a very weak eastern declination of the magnetic needle; we were therefore not far from the line of no declination. Here, in Yerbinsk, it was apparent that we had crossed that line yesterday for the third time in the course of our journey, and that we were now again, as we had been in Kiakhta and in Europe, in a division of the earth having a western declination."

17: Erman--269-270 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 291, 171, 563, 177

"In the clothing of adults, there is manifested a strong predilection for bright colours, for the women in the house, as among the Buraets, wore clothes of green or other bright Chinese stuffs; while the men had on tight-fitting, short frocks, which closely resembled [270] the esquires' tabards in the middle ages. They were almost always made of white linen, with blue borders. At the lower end, behind, was a perpendicular slit, to prevent their incommoding on horseback. Even the fur caps of these people were covered with white linen, and adorned with squirrels' tails, and other black furs.

The few Russians who live at these stations to superintend the post, speak nothing but Yakutian among themselves, and are distinguishable from the indigenous population only by their greater length of face, their fairer complexion, and the comparative poverty of their clothing."

17: Erman--298-299 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut-1-2
116, 291, 171, 281

"For winter travelling, the Yakuts, like the Ostyaks and Samoyedes, wear a fur frock, with the hair outside. Even here this outer garment is generally made of reindeer skins, yet the poorer people use for the same purpose the skins of slaughtered horses and oxen. To this garment is always given the form befitting the saddle, which I have mentioned before. It is trimmed round the edges with black furs, and is ornamented on the back with elaborate figures, in the same material. It is called sanayakh, a name given also to the over-coat of the women, which is, indeed, distinguished from that of the men only by its greater length; it is cut up behind, and adapted for riding, just like the other. During the milder part of the year, and for a long stay in the house, a garment of the same shape as the sanayakh, but made of extremely pliant leather, dyed yellow, is substituted for it. Yet it is not uncommon to find in the yurts men and women with the upper part of the body naked, when they return from the open air to the fire, or have just got up from their sleeping benches, for the cloaks are worn immediately next the breasts. Both sexes wear, moreover, on the lower part of the body, drawers of pliant reindeer skin, which, like those of the Ostyaks, reach from the loins to the middle of the thigh; leggins, which are fastened to the lower end of the drawers, and water-proof boots. This last, and most excellent, part of their dress, is called eterbàs, from which name the Russians here, who, decidedly and justly, prefer the Yakutian boots to European shoeing of any kind, have made torbasà. They fit every where close to the leg, and cover it from the sole of the foot to far above the knee; at the same time, owing to their perfect

pliability, they are as convenient, for pedestrians as for horsemen. That they may be at once flexible and water-proof, the torbasàs are always cut of thin horse-skin; which is steeped, in the first place, in sour milk, and smoked, and then rubbed well with fat and fine soot from the chimneys. The sole, also, is made of the same kind of leather; the seams are sewed inside, and towards the toe there is a point turned upwards, just as in the boots of the Bashkirs at the present day, and in those of Russian horsemen in the sixteenth century. But, on the other hand, these boots are without the high heels which make the walk of the Bashkir and Kirgiz so awkward and ungainly. Two long strings of leather are sewed to the torbasas at the bottom, to be fastened tight round[299] the leg, first at the ankle, and then, when they have been brought behind the calf, again under the knee, where their ends are tied together."

17: Erman--299 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 291, 171, 492

"The Yakuts use, for protection against the cold, a broad and serpentine tippet (in their language, moitruk) of black squirrel tails, gloves of fox fur (utélek,) and a cap (bergésa) of striped cloth, which covers the forehead and part of the face, with a bordering of glutton skin. I have observed with some Yakutian girls, a kind of leathern cushion, which they wore under the sanayakh and over the drawers. The object of this was, probably, to mitigate the hardships of riding on oxen; perhaps, too, it might be compared with a somewhat similar piece of dress worn by the Chuvashian women."

17: Erman--309-310 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 262, 291, 372

"The yurts of Lebegine and Menjega belong also to cow-keeping Yakuts. These people repeated to us the assurance that they prefer horse-flesh to all other meat, and that from their horned cattle they take for food, only milk and butter. Many here, too, wore pelisses of horse-skin, with the hair turned outwards; the rest, the usual sana-yakh or riding coat, which was made of reindeer leather, dyed of a reddish colour, and trimmed with a blue border at the corners. I observed in these yurts, for the first time, an excellent substitute for our tinder; it is made of the stalks of a kind of grass which grows in dry places. These are dried and beaten in the mortars which the Yakuts employ in preparing the bark meal. By this means the spiral vessels of the grass are separated from the rest, in tough, woolly [310] threads, about a fifth of a line thick. They are then rubbed well with wood-ashes from the hearth, and are thus rendered extremely inflammable. For a long time I used no other than this Yakutian tinder, and if it got damp I renewed it, and made it as susceptible as ever by only rubbing it with larch-ashes. It burned slowly, with an agreeable smell, and was capable of kindling even moist tobacco."

17: Erman--315-316 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 291, 164, 855

"We first went eight versts, on a level tract, to a yurt which stands on the broad valley of a rivulet. It belonged to an aged [316] Yakut who, with a young wife, had a family of five children. His business was fishing in the neighbouring stream; yet here again I found some calves occupying the straw in the narrow dwelling. The children were quite naked, and even the woman, who had slept till near mid-day, had nothing on but her short drawers, and went about with the upper part of her body naked all the time that I was in the yurt. In this there was no breach of Yakutian propriety, for women are not forbidden to expose themselves in this manner, except in the presence of their father-in-law, or of their husband's elder brother. She was a well-grown woman, with regular, handsome features; but, at the same time, disfigured with filth, like every thing else in this miserable hut. One of the elder children, which was running about with the others, was afflicted with a remarkable and formidable-looking eruption. The left side of its body exhibited a wound about an inch wide, which had extended, herpetically, from the head perpendicularly down to the middle of the body. On the parts affected, the upper skin seemed totally destroyed, and instead of it there was only to be seen the blood-red flesh. The parents, when I asked them about this malady, seemed to look upon it as a usual and ordinary matter; and in truth I subsequently saw many cases of it among the Yakuts, but chiefly in children."

17: Erman--323 N-3 (1828-29) 1850 Yakut
116, 171, 291

"The Tunguzes, and their neighbours, the Yakuts, fasten with glue, on the under side of the snow-shoe, a strip of horse-hide, with the hair turned backwards. Snow-shoes of this kind are here indispensable for the hunter, and for every one who wishes to quit the beaten road, as without them one sinks above the knee at every step."

37: Dobell--308 G-2 (1812-13) 1830 Yakut
116, 171, 291, 301

"The Tongusees and Yakuts dress much alike, particularly the women, wearing abundance of ornaments. Their hair, that hangs in two or three braids behind, is stuck over with small copper or silver plates, more or less rich, in proportion to the fortune of the wearer. Sometimes a silver or copper plate is placed on the forehead. They occasionally wear a close cap, likewise adorned with plates and beads, and often ornament their boots with beads of various colours, having much the appearance of the work on the Wampum belts of the North American savages."

40: Burr --107-108 N-2 (no date) 1931 Yakut
116, 177, 281, 291, 352, 492

" The Yakuts evidently have a sense of the beautiful, for their clothing, made of the skins of reindeer, horse and dog, are not only very warm and comfortable, but decidedly pleasing to look at. The blending of the browns, blacks, fawn and white has an excellent effect, and is usually worked out in a chequered pattern in very good taste. They are expensive, though, and I was asked three hundred roubles for an outfit, about thirty pounds. But nowadays, of course, they have disappeared from use before Russian factory products. There was a specimen of a kamalán or rug, made in this same pattern, which attracted me very much. I was very anxious to acquire one, but was told they are rare, and that the Yakuts generally are very unwilling to part with them. A still finer specimen was a native saddle. This was somewhat on the lines of the Cossack design, with high pommels, but was richly ornamented with little round disks of lead, in the absence of a more decorative local metal, and the saddle-cloth was a particularly effective piece of [108] patchwork in variously coloured skins. "

43: Karutz--76 E-2 (no date) 1925 Yakut
116, 291, 301

The clothing of the Yakut differs from the usual Siberian in single respects only; it is characterized by leather, furs, and skins, and by trousers covering the feet, huge boots, coats with the hair turned inward, and furs with the hair turned outward. The coats are often covered with cloth. The caps are made of bear, fox, or otter furs and have the shape of a cone; or else they are made of cloth and are furred. They have flaps for the ears and a long appendage of furs with a tassel at its end. A special feature is head and forehead ribbons with a closed ring-shaped ribbon, embroidered and furred, which is fixed at the sides, runs over cheeks and chin, and is supposed to protect these parts from the cold; moreover, there are beautiful metal ornaments, neck rings like cords, or engraved and flatly forged as well as long chain appendages. The belts,too, which keep the garments together and contain various pockets for tobacco, needles, etc., are adorned with engraved silver plates.

45: Lesseps--312-313 T-2 (1788) 1790 Yakut
116, 291

" Their dress is simple, and nearly the same all the year round, the only difference is, that in winter it is made of skin. Over their chemise they commonly wear a large striped waistcoat with sleeves. Their breeches do not extend below the middle of the thigh, but their long boots, called sarri, [313] reach above the knee. In hot weather they wear nothing but the breeches."

49: Findeisen-- 10 [3] E-1 (no date) 1930 Yakut
116, 171, 291

Accompanied by the Tunguses they go to the mountains to hunt animals which yield furs. The winter clothing of a practical hunter is almost the same as the Tungus clothing. During the summer and fall he wears a long waistcoat, trousers and boots of elk hide.

49: Findeisen--10-11 E-1 (no date) 1930 Yakut
116, 177, 291, 301

The work clothing of the women consists of a [11] blouse going down to the ground, and a long waist coat which is decorated with pockets and silver ornaments. A cloth and the simple Russian felt cap serve as head dress. On holidays, however, the women dress in a gown embroidered with bright-colored patterns. A silver belt with a large pair of scissors hanging down, neatly embroidered silver-colored ribbons, which are attached to the shoulder, and a large cross on the chest complete the holiday dress. A conical cap serves as head gear; it is decorated with silver particles and ribbons.

51: Müller--i N-2 (1873-1875)1882 RV2 Yakut
/Frontispiece/
TUNGUS RUS
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302
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Tungus of the Níshnaja /Nizhnyaya/ Tunguska

T /126 cont./
122 from the bank. From our camp, which was pitched in the
Y vicinity, we sent Ssemjón to reconnoiter, and he came back in
[439] the night with two Tungus, who, like the old Jakute, were known to him from before. "I rarely see them," he said laconically. In view of the way of life on both sides that is probably very understandable. Soon it appeared that they had previously had a business connection with regard to a mammoth tusk and, it appeared, not to Ssemjón's advantage. They did not make a good impression in general, and, after buying a reindeer calf, we parted from them as quickly as possible. The people were from Lake Dshesse, but belonged to the Syrungna Tungus.

Y
122 On August 11 when we stopped at midday Ssemjón said
123 that we were no longer very far from the Ssiligír, below the mouth of which, on the small river Ssénjka emptying into the Olenék from the left side, Jakuten /Yakut/ were said to be settled. We had at first intended to go directly down to this river, but now learned that the settlement was three days of travel from the Ssénjka mouth, although from here, because of the previously mentioned great bends of the Olenék, was not very far, which was also confirmed by the fact that we found a well-filled storage chamber. So it was decided that Ssemjón was to hurry there and fetch the people, while we went on to the vicinity of the Ssiligír mouth. It proved to be /127/ not very near, however, for we could not reach it until sunset and therefore had to stop above it.

Y
[554] The next morning Ssemjón appeared in the company of a
● [291] Jakuten /Yakut/, Nikolai Boldonó, whose appearance, though
[437] certainly not magnificent, showed that he was to be counted as one of the wealthier ones. Namely, he had on a cotton shirt and a flowered scarf around his neck, whereas all the other Tungus and Jakuten whom we had seen so far along the Olenék, even the earlier Nikolai, were dressed in leather and skins throughout, a sign that they seldom or never have an opportunity to come in contact with traders or cannot afford their
Y prices. Later we learned that the imported dabá (a cotton ma-
[437] terial usually dyed dark blue) is not too expensive, comparatively

Y /129 cont./
122 In another respect too the region was livelier. Countless
123 flocks of geese and gagáren (Colymbus) were startled by us.
136 The former flew up by the hundreds amid a frightful shrieking and
● 291 beating of wings, while the loud voices of the latter, almost
237 reminiscent of children's cries, resounded continuously through the quiet region. The gagáren, of which there are three species on the Tunguska, but we saw only two of them on the Olenék, taste oily, but are nevertheless eaten by the natives. Caps are sometimes made out of the pretty violet velvet-like down of the neck; indeed, in Turuchansk /Turukhansk/ I even succeeded in buying an overcoat, besides a cap, to be sure for the relatively very high price of 50 rubles, which /130/ were shown great approval everywhere because of their peculiar beauty. Very light and also keeping off the rain very well, this feather coat warmed one excellently, so that I can strongly recommend it, especially for ladies. In Europe where the gagáren also occur, it is said to come on the market occasionally, especially worked into muffs.

Y
122 Beside geese and gágáren, gulls were also common, but
136 only one species, with white neck and head, whereas on the Tunguska we had found several species. We more rarely saw swans, ducks, and cranes, and one bird not present along the Tunguska, called gäscha here, from afar very similar to our common stork, white with black wing tips -- probably it is a
T kind of crane, Grus leucogeranus, of which the cry is also
[825] reminiscent. Smaller birds appeared in noisy flocks, perhaps already proceeding on the homeward journey, and an owl was killed, which, it seems, is rare here, since we had seen only two specimens from the Tunguska on, while there is certainly no lack of other gangs of robbers on the rocks, in particular a
Y kind of falcon called térne by the Tungus.

122 Upon closer acquaintance our guide Boldonó thawed out
123 somewhat and related a little about the region, but obviously not all that he knew by far and, as we learned later, much that was false, deliberately however. Otherwise he was obliging and in particular supplied us daily with fresh fish, which, along with geese, which were now also frequently caught,

/193 cont./

122 iron stove, which we should no longer need in the yurts, as well
123 as our supplies and kitchen utensils, we presented to our friendly hostess, who could make good use of them. She also wanted to keep our dog Waltusch, but we could not bear to leave our faithful companion on two such difficult expeditions here in this climate obviously unfavorable to him and carried out our resolve to take him back to Irkutsk to his well-earned rest. He is now living out the rest of his days in quiet contemplation with a butcher there. According to the custom of the country, Mrs. Rjeschétnikow insisted on giving us a present in return and provided us with some fine fish for the trip. In addition, Czekanowsky received a Russian-style fur cap, the crown of which was made of dark fox
•[291] paws and the brim of river beaver. I was given a Jakut /Yakut/ fur hood, likewise of fox paws and lined with squirrel skins, and a pair of huge mittens of the same kind of fur, beautifully embroidered at the wrists and provided with an opening through which
[171] one could put out one's hand without taking off the mitten. This extremely practical mitten is found /194/ throughout northern Siberia and is to be recommended to European soldiers and hunters.

493 During the cold season persons of rank here travel in com-
[484] pletely covered narten /Russ. narta, "sled"/, into which one crawls
[554] from the front and then, wrapped in soft and warm skins and covers, sleeps through the entire journey. They are so low that sitting up is impossible, and, of course, it is equally impossible to see anything of the region through which one passes -- reason enough for us to forgo this comfort and be content with our narten used up to now, equipped only with a kibitka.

122 On the afternoon of November 5 we took cordial leave of Mrs.
[132] Rjeschétnikow and drove off in a northerly direction, with a temperature of about -33° R., which during the night even dropped to -38° R. On the way we visited the family of our guide Atschkássow, with whom we exchanged a few presents, and on the evening of the following day reached some yurts which bear the name Kŭssŭr /Kyusyur/ and lie on the right shore of the river, diagonally across from the larger village of Bulún, the chief place on the lower Lena. We chose to stop here because our

/258 cont./

291 281 In all other handcrafts, too, the Jakuten /Yakut/ do very commendable work. The Jakut wading boots made of horse leather with flexible soles, which are absolutely waterproof, are highly praised. The carpets made out of black and white horsehide in various patterns, usually put together in checkerboard fashion, form a separate industry.

122 After we had recovered somewhat and had gotten rid of our useless Cossack, who was sent along with a courier dispatched to Irkutsk by the governor, we also considered our departure. We had to make the journey as rapidly as possible, because along the greater part of our way, just as here in Jakutsk the smallpox epidemic raged at the highest pitch. All our quickly won friends here, among whom I must mention the veterinary Dr. Hollmann, a Livonian, who has befriended more than one traveler, gathered together in our quarters on the afternoon of December 16 in order to see us off. Since we ourselves were now spared the great concern about our collections and instruments, which for the most part were being sent, well packed, at government expense -- the Imperial Geographical Society enjoys the privilege of free transport for all shipments addressed to them or sent by them, provided only that the individual packages do not exceed one pood in weight -- it was all the same to us that the parting was prolonged until late in the evening.

In two sleds, Czekanowsky and I in a kibitka purchased here, the Tungus in a baggage sled to be repacked at every station, we finally raced out /259/ into the winter night, now again, according to the custom of the country, a stouthearted team of three horses in front of us. Although the still unfamiliar section of our present route of travel to Kirensk -- circa 2,000 versts -- offered enough of interest to us and in many places was particularly distinguished by picturesque beauty, we could no longer permit ourselves scientific investigations under the prevailing circumstances. We went on without rest day and night; there was no question of any difficulties in transport because, by means of the courier sent ahead of us, all the station masters were instructed to have the best horses waiting for us; at most our sleds occasionally needed some repairs. The way led, with a few

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

parts. By the end of the 18th century, the fur resources of the Yakut district were running out and the district itself had been partially devastated through the piratical rule of the tsarist authorities. At the same time, the Yakut population, which had migrated from the Lena-Vilyuy district for various reasons, appeared on the borderland of Yakutiya, where they had not been seen before—on the Kolyma, Indigirka, Olenek and Anabar right up to the Lower Tunguska Basin.

But even during those first few decades contact with the Russian people favorably influenced the economics and culture of the Yakuts. The Russians brought a higher culture with them; agriculture was already in evidence on the Lena by the middle of the 17th century; the Russian type of dwelling, Russian fabric clothes, new trades, new furnishings and domestic objects slowly began to find their way among the Yakut population.

It is an extremely important fact that the establishment of Russian authority in Yakutiya put a stop to the intertribal warring and looting by the toyons, which up to that time had been a great hardship for the Yakut population.

An end was also put to the arbitrary behavior of the Russian soldiers, who often fell out among themselves and tried to draw the Yakuts into their quarrels. The order established in 1640 in the Yakut country was better than the previous state of chronic anarchy and constant internecine strife.

In the 18th century, by dint of the further penetration by the Russians to the east (the annexation of Kamchatka, the Chukchi peninsula, the Aleutian Islands and Alaska), Yakutiya played the part of a transit camp for new campaigns and the acquisition of more distant lands.

Between 1720 and 1740, the expeditions of Bering increased the importance of the Yakutsk-Okhotsk highway, which was used to transport a great deal of freight (this highway retained its importance up to the middle of the 19th century). All this drew Yakutiya into Russia's system of economic ties and thereby raised the general level of the productive forces of that territory.

The influx of Russian peasants (particularly along the Lena Valley on account of the construction of the mail route in 1773) created the right conditions for mutual influence between Russian and Yakut cultural elements. By the end of the 17th and 18th centuries, agriculture began to be practiced by the Yakuts, though at first it was a very slow business and Russian-type houses began to appear. Nevertheless, even in the 19th century the number of Russian settlers was comparatively small.

In addition to peasant colonization, of great importance in the 19th century was the system of convict settlements in Yakutiya. Together with the criminal convicts, whose effect on the Yakuts was negative, political exiles began to appear in Yakutiya in the second half of the 19th century; these were first the Narodniks[2], and later, in the 1890's, the Marxists, and they played a large part in the cultural and political development of the Yakut masses.

By the beginning of the 20th century, great strides had been made in the economic development of Yakutiya, at least in the central regions

[2] Literally, "Populists;" adherents of a political movement directed toward a radical reconstruction of the social order through the peasantry.—Ed.

53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

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Processing grain: 1—removing ears from sheaf with butt of axe; 2—grinding in quern.

224 stage of initial contact between the Russians and Yakuts (17th century) the latter hunted both for meat and fur, but both forms took second place in relation to pastoralism. As time went on, and the fur resources of the region became depleted, the proportion of hunting decreased more and more. By the beginning of the 20th century, squirrel, fox, hare, Siberian ferret, ermine and bear, elk and other animals were hunted in winter for their fur in the central regions of Yakutiya, and there was also hunting of

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Yakut sleigh.

Another means of overland transportation was the ski, which was lined underneath with horsehide and not reindeer suede. The Yakut boats were no different from the Tungus ones. They had a canoe (tyy) made of birch-bark or else flat-bottomed and made from planks. The larger vessel—the karbaz—had sails and was evidently borrowed from the Russians.

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[177]

Settlements and Buildings

Until recently the Yakut settlements were very much scattered about. The prevalent type of populated point (yal) consisted of one, two or three yurts standing in a row; there were less than 20 people (according to the

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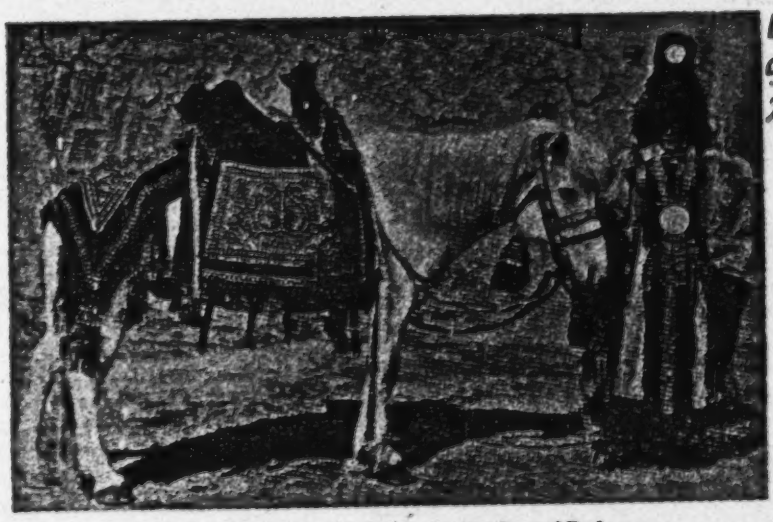

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Yakut woman with horse festively saddled.

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

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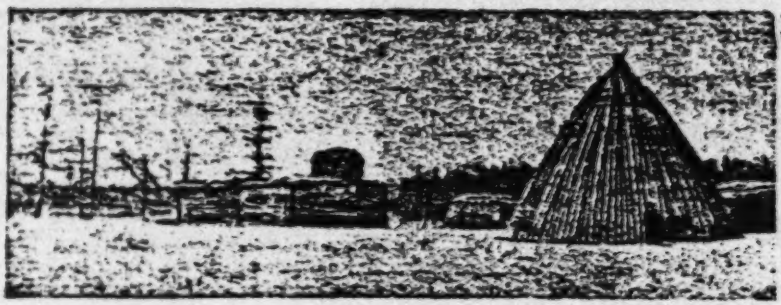
Hearth.

somewhere near the yurt, and there were also stalls for cattle, wattle pens for foals and so on. 342

In ancient times, however, the Yakut summer dwelling was different in type and was called the urusa or uraha (this type had practically disappeared by the end of the 19th century). The urasa was a conical construction made of poles covered with birchbark and was fairly spacious (4 to 6 m in diameter). The urasa differed from the conical birchbark chum of the taiga nomads by having a more solid structure; it had a square frame at the top made of beams which were attached to the top ends of four poles serving as the base; the birchbark was sewn together in strips in two layers, neatly and tightly; along the walls on either side were benches almost exactly as in the yurt; the urasa was heated by an open clay raised hearth. In the north this kind of dwelling (which was preserved much longer) was covered with turf instead of birchbark or on top of the birchbark; the rods of the frame in this case were more numerous and closer together. This earthen urasa or kalymaa (kholuman) was a sort of intermediate form between the conical chum and the Yakut log dwelling. 342 178 [35]

53:Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2



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Summer birchbark dwelling and six-cornered house.

There was another type of construction found among the Yakuts (either as a dwelling or as a cattle stall); it was a six- or eight-cornered log yurt with a pyramidal roof, identical to the well-known Buryat and Khakas structures. These yurts were observed, for example, in the regions near the mouth of the Vilyuy, in the Meginskiy and Borogonskiy ulusy, as well as in the Kolymskiy Okrug. They have been known since the 18th century. 342 178 [171]

During the 19th century the Russian type of structure—the log hut—gradually came into use among the Yakuts, particularly the better off people. At the beginning of the 20th century there were many such houses, particularly in areas near towns. A mixed type was often found: for example, a log hut built onto a yurt, a log hut with a Yakut hearth, and so on. 342 177

The living quarters and farm buildings of the family and the space surrounding them constituted the farmstead, which was fenced off with a solid fence of horizontal poles without any gates (in order to get inside the poles at one spot were removed from their supports, or else people simply stepped over them). Inside the enclosure were posts for tying up horses, and these were skillfully carved. In the summer camps the farms were often close together. 351

When speaking of structures, we should also mention the fact that in the old days the Yakuts knew how to make fortifications or ostrozhki, as they were called in the Russian texts of the 17th century. For example, in 1636-1637, during the campaign against the Kangalastsy, the Russian Cossacks found that "they had built strong forts with two walls covered with gravel, and surrounded by snow and water;" it was only after a two-day assault that the Cossacks managed to take one of these forts. In 1642 the Russians also took a Yakut fortress after great difficulty: ". . . the fort was made with two walls, the space between the walls was filled with earth, and there were log towers." At a later stage these fortifications disappeared, and no one has described them since in detail. But even in the 19th century it was possible to find special tower-like barns here and there, which belonged to the Toyons. 175 648 712 726

Clothing

The national Yakut costume had only been partly preserved by the beginning of the 20th century, having been replaced by Russian clothing or at least strongly influenced by the latter. The national cut and purely Yakut materials were preserved to a greater extent in the winter clothing. 291 177 178

The underclothing of the Yakuts in the old days consisted of leather shorts (syald'yya), which have remained in use to the present day and are the same for men and women. They are supplemented at the top by a fur stomach-warmer and below by leather leggings. The shirt (yrbakhy) appeared later, evidently through Russian influence; it was made from Chinese blue cotton cloth or some other fabric, was the same in cut for men and women, and differed from the Russian shirt only by having a turned-down collar. The commonest outer clothing, both for men and women, was the son, a kaftan like single-breasted coat with a straight vent at the front; there was a fur version for the winter; in recent times it has become usual to cover it with some kind of cloth, but before, it used to be lined with suede. The summer son was made of cloth, but among the poorer people it was made of horsehide or cowhide with the fur on the inside. It was made by sewing four similar tapered strips together with the wider part at the bottom and with extra pieces in the form of small wedges below the belt; the sleeves were wide, puffed at the shoulders and narrow at the bottom. The ancient outer costume (sangyyakh) was retained as the festive dress for women, and to judge by 17th-century texts, it was originally much more widespread and not confined to women. It was a very fine and richly ornamented long fur coat fitting at the waist with a long vent at the back, with fur trimming and various extra pieces sewn on. These fine garments were kept and handed down as a family treasure, predominantly among the toyon families; the cost of them at the end of the 19th century reached as much as 1000 rubles. The cut of the sangyyakh was close to the Altay chegedek (the Khakas sigidek and Buryat tsegdek) from which it differed by having sleeves. The very names "sangyyakh" and "chegedek" are etymologically related. It was the straight vent at the back which distinguished typical Yakut clothing from the double-breasted costume of the steppe nomads, which closed on the right side; the outer clothing of the Yakuts differed from the Tungus clothing in that the flaps came close together, whereas among the Tungus they did not, and the gap in between came close together, whereas among the Tungus they did not, and the gap in between at the chest or stomach was covered with a chest-piece. The outer clothing of the men was usually girdled with leather belts; among the richer people the belt was ornamented from end to end with silver or copper plaques. A sheathed knife and a steel for making fire were usually hung from the belt. There were also belts with silver plaques and wide silk sashes.

The shape of the headgear was fairly varied. Leaving aside the types borrowed from the Russians, the following kinds can be distinguished. The ancient fur cap (in later times, made of velveteen) was like a helmet with a sharp point and elongated sides in the form of earpieces; it was trimmed with squirrel or some other fur and was worn by both men and women. It was similar to the type worn by the Kazakhs. The festive women's hat, similar in style, though more dressy, differed from the previous type by having a high cloth top, flat at the front and back, with various embellishments, the chief of which was a silver-minted disk (tuohakhta); the part hanging down at the back of the neck was covered with some kind of expensive fur. These large ceremonial hats are typical only of the Yakuts. They also wore a typical Tungus-type cap made of reindeer fur. The most interesting of the summer hats was a wide-brimmed flat hat, undoubtedly an imitation of the Russian straw hat, but woven entirely of horsehair. In the summer, people very often wore Russian peaked caps, or else bound their heads (both men and women) with a kerchief. A characteristic feature of the Yakut winter clothing

53: Tokarev and Gurvich E-4 (no date) 1964
RV2 Yakut RV2

was associated with the severe frost; this was a particular type of fur collar or mooyturuk made from rings of squirrel tails, so that the fur stood out on all sides; this collar was put round the neck in cold weather and covered both the nose and mouth; as the wearer breathed on it and the breath gradually froze, he kept moving it round so that there was always a dry spot opposite the mouth. 291

The Yakut heavy fur mittens were made with space for one finger and were attached by laces, by which they hung when taken off.

Typical of the footwear (eterbes) were high kneeboots made of undressed reindeer- or horse-hide, with the hair on the outside. The summer boots (sasry) were made of soft leather with a soft sole; the top part was covered with cloth and in the case of women with embroidery; the tops of the boots were tied with laces. Underneath the top footwear they wore high stockings (keenche) made of fur, or, later, cloth made in the shape of the foot. Linings of dry grass were also put inside the boots, and frequently changed.

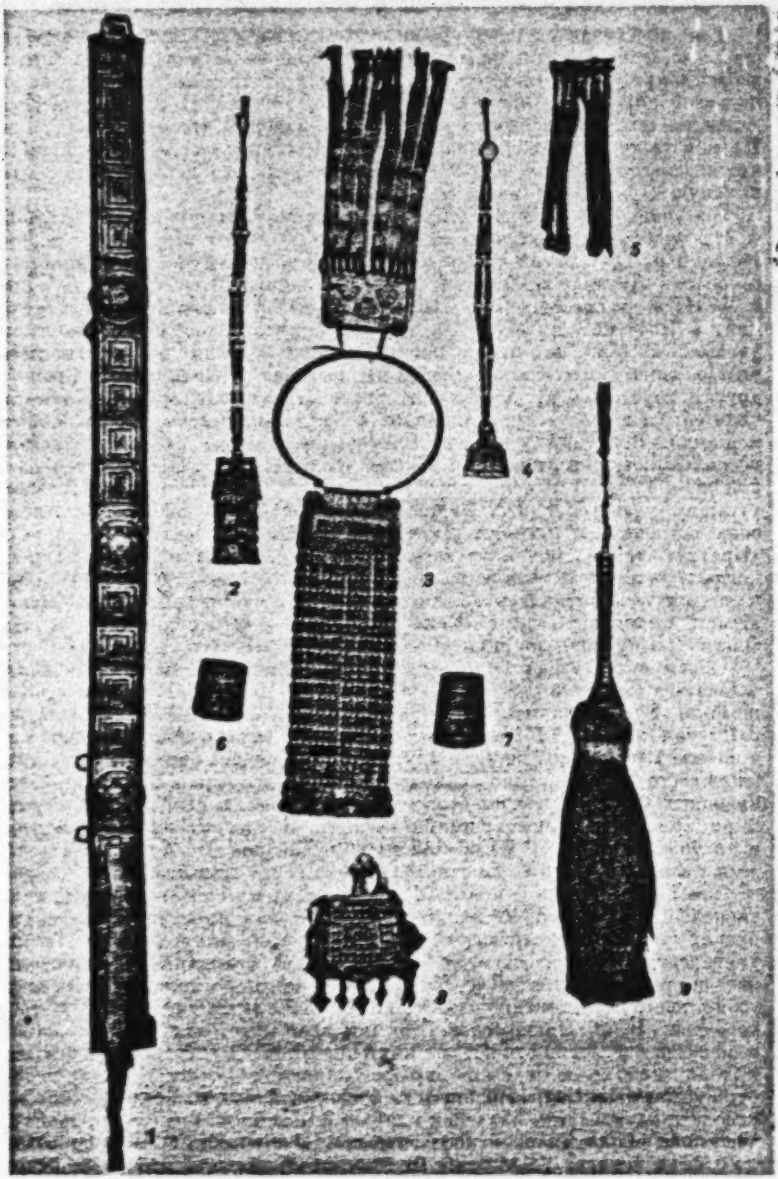
The decorations on the women's clothing were particularly lavish and varied. Apart from various types of embroidery, appliqué and trimming, women also wore metal (silver) adornments, including large pendants consisting of rows of interlinked parallel, patterned chains hanging from a semicircle (kyl'd'yy), silver earrings of the pendant type (*имарда*), various patterned bracelets (*бөҕөлөх*), finger-rings (*быһыллыҥ*), silver crucifixes (Christian influence) on massive openwork chains and so forth; all these embellishments, chiefly possessed by the toyon women, were very skillfully made by the Yakut smiths. [531] 301 326

As regards children's clothing, there was no special type. In the poorer families, the children ran about naked or wore rags; the children of wealthier parents wore the same kind of garments as the adults, except for the size and greater number of adornments. 291

Food

The diet of the Yakuts from the central ulusy before the Revolution consisted first of dairy products, second, fish products, after which came vegetable products, and, finally, meat. The variety, amount and quality of the food ranged between very wide limits in the various class groups. Dairy products were consumed mainly during the summer, and as far as possible stored up for the winter. Mare's milk was chiefly used to make kumys, a refreshing, nutritious and slightly intoxicating beverage, which the Yakuts drank readily and in large quantities. During the haymaking kumys was sometimes the staple diet; a great deal of it was drunk at summer festivals (*ысыах*—the kumys festival). Over the last few decades before the Revolution, on account of the decline in horse-breeding and the development of agriculture, the comsumption of kumys dropped more and more. Mare's milk was not stocked for the winter. Cow's milk was not used very much in the fresh form, but was used to make a greater variety of products. First place among them was taken by the so-called suorat, or sora, a particular kind of thick sour milk with or without some cream added. In summer fresh suorat was the commonest food, but it was also used to make winter stocks; for this purpose it was kept in large birchbark vats, to which were added berries (blueberries), roots, bones (which dissolved in the lactic acid) and any left-over milk product, and as winter approached, the whole lot was frozen and kept in that form. The resulting tar was used in wintertime to make the drink butugas, to which was added, apart from the tar, water, a little flour, pine sapwood, roots, and so on. Cream skimmed from the milk was used in the fresh, whipped form; it was called *куорат*, highly 262 [527]

[p. 286]



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Silver ornaments: 1—silver belt; 2—embellishments for braids; 3—necklace; 4—women's tinder steel; 5—pendant for braids; 6, 7—bracelets; 8—women's bags; 9—fan.

Many families eat freshly frozen fish in the winter. In some parts in the North fish is made into yukola. The fish is slightly smoked over a fire and then dried in the sun; it is also customary to salt and smoke fish. In the central regions people catch large numbers of hares, and partridge, geese and duck serve as a subsidiary part of the diet of the people in the north.

At the present time the outer fur clothing of the Yakuts (short coat, fur trousers, and kneepieces) is only retained for working. In the winter it is common to wear padded coats and trousers in the settlements. Throughout Yakutiya the local style of winter footwear made from reindeer skin (eterbes) and fur stockings (keenche) have been retained. These are also worn by travelers visiting these regions. Felt boots are worn in the settlements and towns in the winter.

The soft summer boots have not been replaced by factory-made footwear either. In the settlements people wear knee-boots, ankle-boots and shoes. For fishing use is made of rubber knee-boots. For hunting during summer in the taiga, preference is given to ichigi.

Whereas the high-pointed hats have fallen into disuse and are not made any more, the bonnet-type hat covered on top with cloth and trimmed inside with fur is still used, chiefly in most northern regions. At the present time hats with flaps with the fur outside are often made. The shawl made of squirrel-tails is rarely found and has been replaced by the normal type of scarf. Wide-brimmed summer hats made of horsehair have also fallen into disuse.

In the towns and villages men's and women's clothes are close in style to modern urban apparel. Cloth clothing has ousted suede shirts throughout. It has become customary to wear underclothing and use bed linen. Prior to the Revolution many Yakuts never washed their clothes, supposing that it would help to make them last longer. Underwear is now regularly washed.

Position of Women

The position of women in Yakutiya can be said to have radically changed. In Yakut families women used to occupy an inferior position (with fewer rights than among many other of the Siberian peoples) and took no part in public life.

M. D. Nartakhova, the daughter of a poor Yakut, has become a prominent figure in Yakutiya. She was educated at the Irkutsk Workers' University, after which she became a teacher, then worked as a political affairs instructor for the Central Executive Committee of the Yakut Republic, a Rayon Soviet chairman, an Obkom Party instructor, Rayon Committee Secretary of the Communist Party and since 1947 has been Social Security Minister for the Yakut ASSR. At the present time Comrade Nartakhova is chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Yakut ASSR.

In 1952, 44 women were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the Yakut ASSR and 3 women were made deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and RSFSR, while more than 2000 women (34.5 percent of all those elected) were members of the local soviets. Yakut women at the present time, occupy a great variety of posts. They are to be found as chairmen of the collective-farm administrations, chairmen of the nasleg soviets, and in administrative posts in the Communist Party and Komsomol. Many Yakut women have become teachers, doctors, nurses, and cultural officials. 1756 women work in education, 500 are doctors and 24 are scientists. In

178 the other hand, [201] the possibilities for maximizing profits from
439 the sale in foreign markets of such valuable furs as polar fox are not fully utilized, since on account of their trips transporting loads the carters are compelled to cut down on the number of times they can make the rounds of their traps.

233 In places where there are many fish and wild reindeer--for ex-
262 ample, in Pyasina--domestic reindeer are hardly ever used as food. On the other hand, in places where there is little game, the average family is forced to use a minimum of about forty head and more in the course of a year, especially in the east, where the population hardly uses any grain at all, substituting meat in its place. All parts of the reindeer are used for food, not excluding even the con-
233 tents of the stomach. Reindeer milk is also used as food. [Fig. 18].
234 They milk reindeer from June until Shroud-Day, the holiday called
262 "Pokrov" [Feast of the Protection of the Holy Virgin] (November 14), but there are also some cows without calves which are milked the year round. The milking is done once a day. In the summer they usually milk the reindeer before tea, so as to have milk to pour into their tea, and when they do this they milk with the right hand alone, and with the left hand they hold a mug or an iron bucket under the stream of milk. In winter they freeze the milk and eat it in this solid
233 form, chopped into small pieces. A cow usually gives a half-bucket
291 of thick, tasty milk. For eating purposes they kill only old and sick reindeer; for clothing they kill almost exclusively young reindeer. If a domestic reindeer is used for food during a scarcity of fish and wild game, its hide is much more often used for clothing, at least among the well-to-do, whereas the hide of a wild reindeer, owing to its coarseness, is used only by poor people. We propose to give more detailed information regarding the number of hides which are used by a family in one year for their various needs in a separate work on the clothing of the Dolgan.

321 From reindeer horns are fashioned various small household articles.

In concluding the ethnographic part of my work on reindeer breed-
121 ing among the Dolgan, I make the reservation that consideration of the Dolgan ideology was consciously left out by me; in order to see to what degree the whole religion of the Dolgan is permeated with elements of reindeer breeding, it would be necessary to describe the religion in a very detailed fashion, which is outside the scope of the present sketch. It is much more expedient to give a description of the religion separately in an independent work.

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Dolgan

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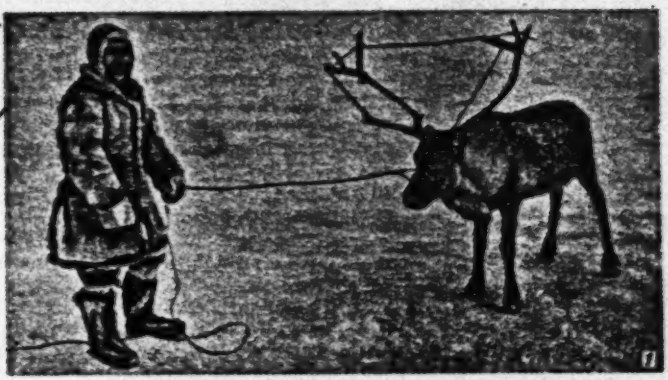

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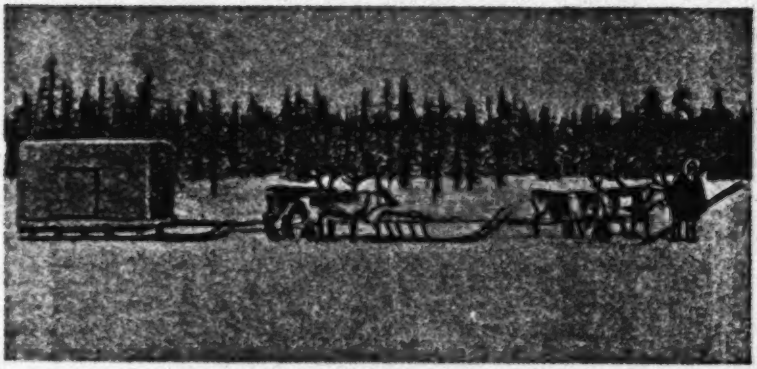
Hunting:
1—hunter with decoy reindeer; 2—hunting wild reindeer from behind a shield; 3—catching partridge with nets.

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan



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Winter dwelling, sled tent.

There are more than a dozen versions of the Dolgan national costume, all with their special names, though only different in a few trivial details. The characteristic feature of both men's and women's clothing is a slightly elongated coattail at the back. The Dolgans themselves explain this by the fact that when sitting down on the cold ground in a tent they can spread out the long coattail underneath them. 291

Even before the Revolution household clothing for men and women was made of bought material. Men wore shirts and trousers of the Russian style, and women wore dresses, on top of which they put on aprons without openings. Both the men's shirts and the women's aprons almost always had side pockets and were embroidered with narrow colored piping and numerous buttons. They did not wear any underclothing. 291 177

In the summer and winter men and women wore a cloth coat called the sontap. In the winter they wore a second fox-fur or hareskin coat beneath it. In the winter instead of the cloth coats they sometimes wore the deerskin open dokha (parka) or short coat, and ventless fur clothing with a hood with the fur outside, i.e., the sokuy. When traveling the men wore a sokuy over their cloth coat or deerskin parka. In rainy summer weather a cloth sokuy was put on. In the winter the women wore a son or long polar-fox or hareskin coat, on top of which they had a sontap or sangyyak (deerskin coat). Men and women girdled their clothing with bead-studded belts. The mukalkaan, a bead-embroidered men's parka, was close to the Even type. The old-fashioned men's and women's aprons were also similar to the Even type. Men's and women's hats (bergese) were shaped like hoods. The top was cut from fox feet or from cloth, and was embroidered with beads or finished with narrow bands of colored cloth. Winter footwear was made of deer feet and came in two types: a type reaching to the knee or higher, corresponding to the Evenk boot and often ornamented with beads. 291 [531]

Summer footwear was made of suede. A hole was made in the middle of the sole in summer footwear so that any water leaking inside during walking could run out.

Social Relations and Religion

By the time the Russians arrived, the Dolgans were splitting up into clans. Kinship was reckoned on the male side. There were certain traces 614 611 100

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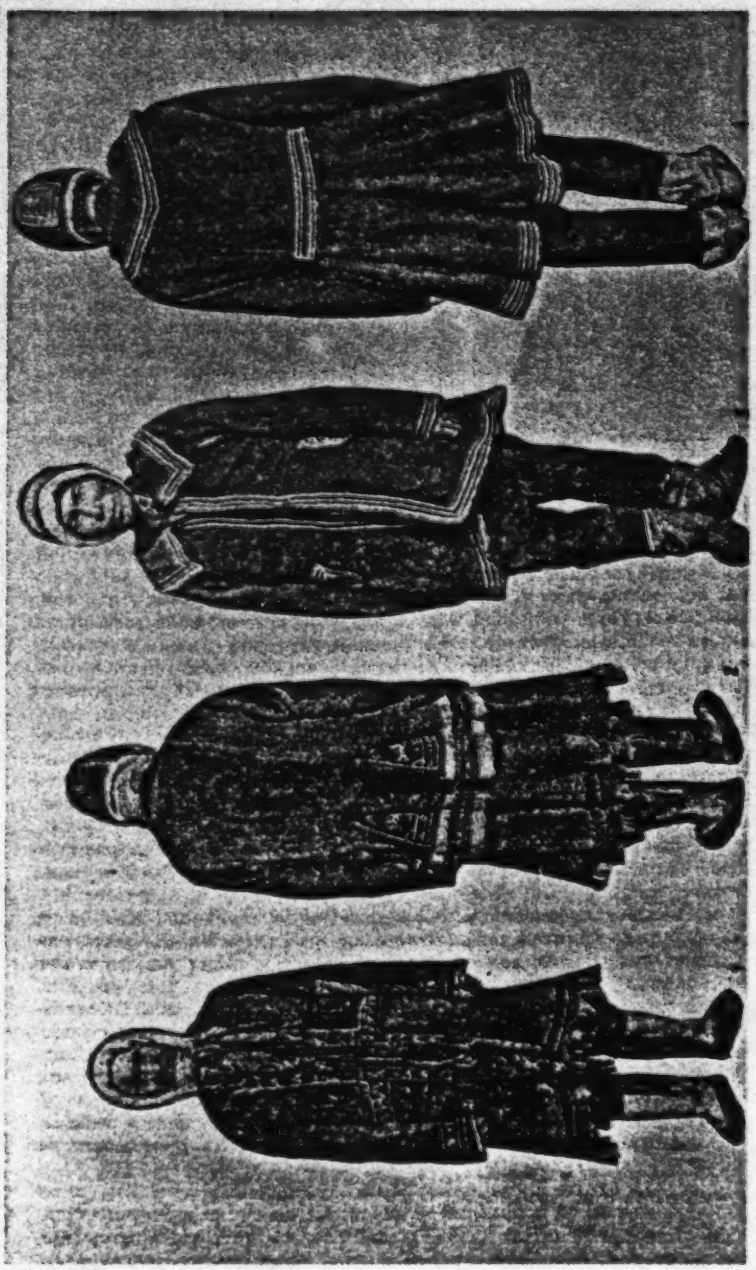

Men's clothing:
1, 2—winter; 3, 4—summer.

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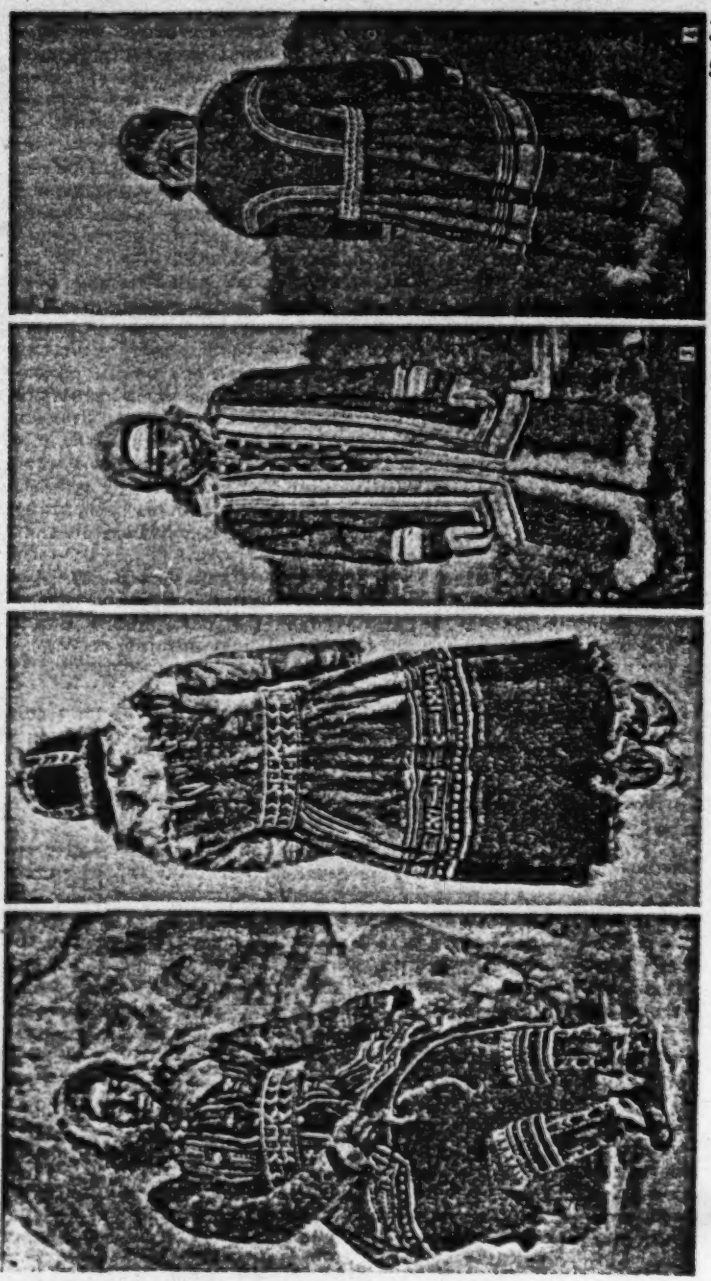

Women's clothing:
1, 2—winter; 3, 4—summer.

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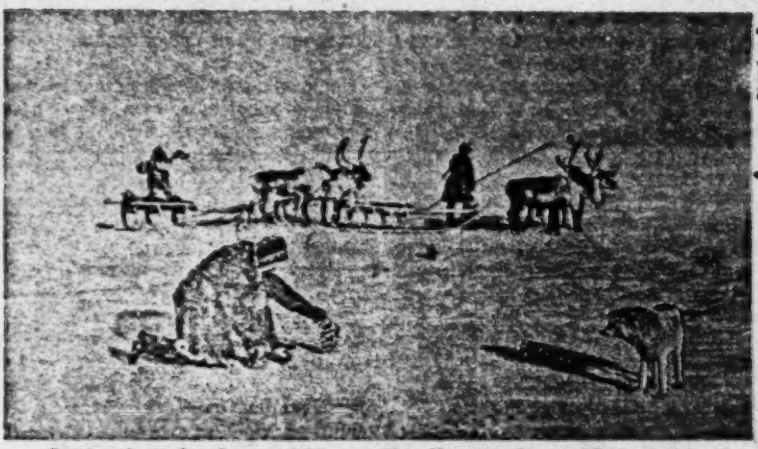
Dolgan



Setting bait for foxes. "Victory" collective farm, Khatangskiy Rayon, Taymyr National Okrug.

become common. The art of dancing was practically unknown to the Dolgans. Like the Evenks, they only had rounds (with the refrain "kheyro") in which the men and women went round and round, leading each other by the arm and stamping on the ground.

The graphic art of the Dolgans was of an applied nature. Both festive and ordinary clothing was richly ornamented with beads or appliquéd with narrow strips of colored material. Patterned embroidery with deerhair on suede dyed red with an infusion of alder bark or ochre, or dyed black with graphite, was common. Also to be found was fine openwork embroidery with tendon thread on the straps and belts of the reindeer harness. Decorating the clothing was a job of the women. The men mainly engaged in mammoth-ivory carving. They acquired a particularly high degree of skill in carving cheek-plates for the reindeer halter. Tin-inlaid fronts for reindeer saddles and knife handles were also found. The smiths were considered to be very skilled at inlaying iron objects with copper and silver. The runners and backs of light, low sleds common in the Khatangskiy Rayon show an intriguing range of colors. Dolgan designs for the most part are geometric; they consist of combinations of crosses, semicircles, zigzags and broken lines. Wood-carving of a religious nature was also commonly found. The representations were usually very symbolic.

The Post-Revolutionary Period in the Life of the Dolgans

[In 1926, there were already 17 cooperative stores in the Dolgan territory. In 1931, the former clan Soviets were changed over and replaced by territorial nomadic Soviets, which went to make up the Taymyr Dolgan-Nennish National Okrug.

[Collectivization of the Dolgans was begun in 1930-31 and completed in 1938. The Dolgan collective farms have collectivized reindeer herds, lines of permanent polar-fox traps, supplies of portable steel springtraps, firearms for hunting and protection of the herds, seines and vertical nets, reindeer harness, sleds, buildings, and special Arctic clothing. The

55:Popov E-5 (no date) 1964 RV2 Yakut RV2
Dolgan

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Kindergarten on a walk. Taymyr National Okrug, Khatangskiy Rayon.

families, but on the initiative of the collective-farm administration, and their routes are determined in the same way. Fishing brigades sent to fish in some river or lake lead a settled life there, partly in houses built by the collective farm at the fishing grounds.

[The Dolgans, particularly the descendants of the tundra peasants, had Russian cottages even before the Revolution. They now build sturdy houses, using both imported lumber and driftwood. The old-fashioned pole tent is now used only in the summer.

[The Dolgan diet now includes bread, flour, and tea, boiled strong and taken with sugar. Supplies are brought in regularly to the local stores. Medical aid is available at 40 medical and medical-assistant points. The Dolgan-Yakut population is served by hospitals at Noril'sk and in the settlements of Chernoye, Volochanka and Khatanga. In 1953 there were 52 schools, including 3 seven-year schools, in the Taymyr National Okrug. The Dolgan-Yakut population is served by schools at Chernoye, Dolgany, Volochanka, Kheta, Khatanga, Popigay and other points.

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